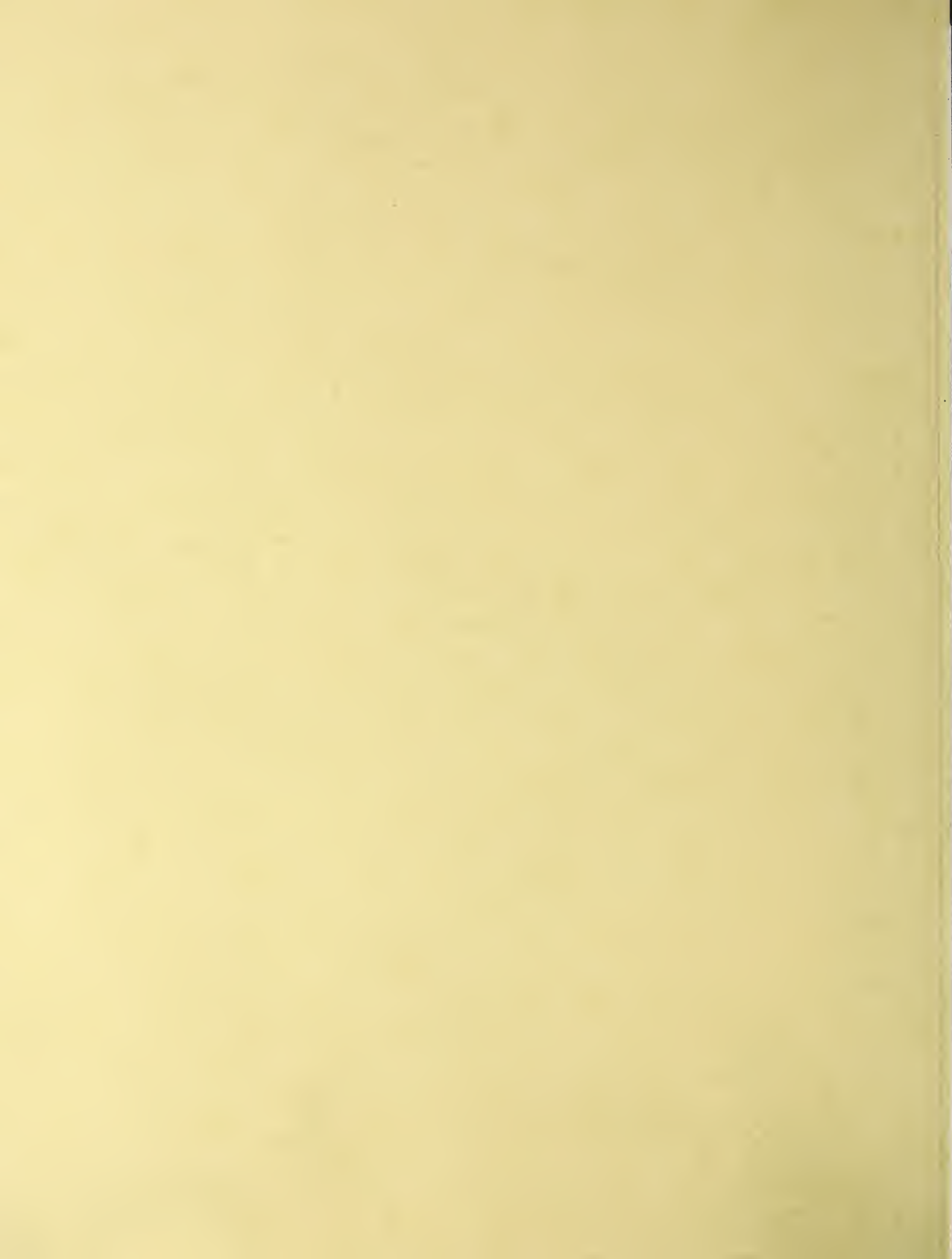


PRESIDENTIAL  
CANDIDATES - 1860

DRAWER 9

CAMPAIGN - 1860

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# Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

## Presidential Candidates 1860

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the  
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

# THE DEMOCRAT.

SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 2, 1860.

FOR PRESIDENT IN 1860  
**STEP'N. A. DOUGLAS.**  
Of Illinois.

Subject to the decision of a Democratic National Convention.

FOR CONGRESS,  
**JOHN LAW.**

DEMOCRATIC STATE TICKET,  
For 1860.

FOR GOVERNOR,  
**THOMAS A. HENDRICKS**, of Shelby.

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR,  
**DAVID TURPIE**, of White.

FOR SECRETARY OF STATE,  
**WILLIAM M. SCHLATER**, of Wayne.

FOR AUDITOR OF STATE,  
**JOSEPH RISTINE**, of Fountain.

FOR TREASURER OF STATE,  
**NAT'L. F. CUNNINGHAM**, of Vigo.

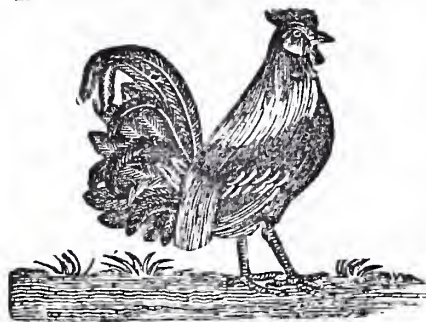
FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL,  
**OSCAR B. HORD**, of Decatur.

FOR SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,  
**SAMUEL L. RUGG**, of Allen.

FOR CLERK OF SUPREME COURT,  
**CORNELIUS O'BRIEN**, of Dearborn.

FOR REPORTER OF SUPREME COURT,  
**MICHAEL C. KERR**, of Floyd.

**BRING OUT THE BIG**



**CROW! CHAPMAN CROW!!**

**ALL HAIL TO THE OLD SOLDIER OF  
DEMOCRACY!**

## Northern and Southern Sectionalism.

The Republican party of the North, hold to the doctrine that Congress ought to *interrene*, for the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and their whole policy is to preclude the citizens of fifteen Southern States, from going into the common Territory, of the whole Union, with their property. Now this looks unfair to our Southern friends. Their blood and their treasure in common with ours, purchased the common domain, and fair dealing would extend to them at least equal rights on common soil. But our Republican friends say no. They say that the citizens of the South must not take their property into the Territories. This doctrine virtually excludes the South from a participation in the benefits of the partnership purchase. They (the Republicans) assert that Congress alone has the power to regulate the domestic institutions of the hardy pioneers who go West, and they mean to exercise that power to the disadvantage of Southern people. No conservative fair minded National man can say, this policy is right. While the Republicans take this view of the question, the extreme Southern politicians play into their hands and strengthen them by pursuing a course that is fraught with injustice to the citizens of the North. Mr. Yancy, and his friends take ground in favor of a *slave code*, and assert in round terms that Congress has the power to protect slavery in the Territories, and that such protection ought to be given. And so wedded are the extreme men of the South, to the policy of Yancey, that they would prefer a dissolution of the Union rather than yield their convictions. In truth a dissolution of the Union is what they want, and herein lies the secret of their hostility to the national Democratic party and to Mr. Douglas, its leader. They know that they cannot expect to accomplish their treasonable designs of "precipitating the cotton States into a revolution," until they first succeed in destroying the Democratic party, and in order more speedily to sap the foundations of Democracy, they must get rid of Douglas. Hence the secession of the cotton States at Charleston. To show their treason more effectually we copy the following letter from Mr. Yancy and ask conservative men to read it carefully Here it is:—

MONTGOMERY, June 15, 1858.

DEAR SIR: Your kind favor of the 15th is received. I hardly agree with you that a general movement can be made that will clear out the Augean stable. If the Democracy were overthrown, it would result in giving place to a greater and hungrier swarm of flies. The remedy of the South is not in such a process; it is in a diligent organization of her true men for prompt resistance to the next aggression. It must come in the nature of things. No national party can save us; no sectional party can ever do it; but if we could do as our fathers did, organize committees of safety all over the cotton States—and it is only in them that we can hope for any effective movement—we shall fire the Southern heart, instruct the Southern mind, give courage to each other, and at the proper moment, by one organized, concerted action, we can precipitate the cotton States into a revolution.—The idea has been shadowed forth in the South by Mr. Ruffin, and has been taken up and recommended in the *Advertiser*, the Montgomery organ of Mr. Yancey, under the name of "The League of United Southerners," who, keeping up their old party relations on all other questions, will hold the Southern issues paramount, and will influence parties, legislatures and statesmen. I have no time to enlarge, but to suggest merely.—In haste, yours, &c.,

Signed,

W. L. YANCEY:

Here is the programme of the secession traitors

in a nut shell. They want a dissolution of the Union, and to accomplish that they would precipitate the cotton States into a revolution. Horrible isn't it? Can such treason be justified in the eyes of patriots? We believe not. Again, Mr. Banwell Rhett, a distinguished Southern politician, and we will add, a traitor, in speaking of the secession of the cotton States from the Charleston Convention, says:

"But we say, 'Have you not heretofore opposed National party Conventions and is not the Richmond Convention a National Party Convention?' I answer, No! A National Party Convention is the Convention of a party based on *national principles*; that is, *principles common to all portions of the United States*. The Richmond Convention is not such a convention. Its declared principles are not national, for not a single Northern State has dared to avow them. It is a sectional Convention, called by one section of the Union, to support rights and interests belonging to one section of the Union, and acknowledged but by one section of the Union. It arises out of the debt is of the one great national party in the Union—the Democratic party—and is intended to counteract its policy."

Here the reason is unblushingly given why the extreme men of the South can no longer act with the Democratic party, and with its distinguished chief Judge Douglas. The Democratic party is national, and "*its principles are common to all portions of the United States*." What a beautiful eulogy the seceders unwittingly pay to the great national party of the country and to its chief Stephen A. Douglas. They are national in principle and national in feeling. They would look only to the prosperity and glory of the whole Union.

And still again, should more evidence be wanted of the sectional designs of Southern hot heads, we give the following argument used by a Louisiana secessionist, against the nomination of that incorruptible patriot and National man S. A. Douglas. He says:

"With regard to Mr. Douglas, I am opposed to him because he is too much of a Union man for me. I believe it is true policy of the South to secede as soon as the Southern mind can be prepared for it, which I fear would be indefinitely postponed in the case of the election of a man of ability such as he possesses and of his school of politics."

And this is the whole secret of the Southern hostility to Douglas. He is "*too much of a Union man*." When politicians thus oppose Douglas, on the ground that he loves the Union of the States too sincerely and devotedly, to become its President, we may well ask, to what point of the political compass are we drifting?

Thus we have shown that the Republican party is sectional in its aims and objects, because it proposes to exclude the people of fifteen States of the Union, from participating in the benefits of our national Territories, and we have shown that the Southern Secessionists, are sectional, because they would exclude sixteen free States from the benefits of the national domain by pressing their *slave code* policy. Then, where are the men who love the whole Union, to go, and with what party can they consistently and conscientiously act in the coming struggle? We answer unhesitatingly, with the National Democratic party.—That party stands on broad national grounds.—It takes to its embrace the whole Union. Its principles are co-extensive with the Union, and its acknowledged chieftain is Stephen A. Douglas, a sound Union man, a devoted patriot, and an able statesman.

**POLITICAL MEETINGS.** *Wide Awake Club.* A meeting of the Lincoln Wide Awake Club No. One, of wards 9 and 10, was held last evening at the headquarters, No. 419 Washington street, the President, Moses Kimball, in the chair. Addresses were made by the President, Thomas Hills, Col. N. A. Thompson, Aldermen Clement Wills, Joseph Story, N. C. Nash and others. The meeting was full, and there was much enthusiasm.

An adjourned meeting of the Bell and Everett Central Club was held at Mercantile Hall, Summer street, last evening. The committee appointed at a previous meeting reported an organization. Charles H. Allen was chosen President, Thos. E. Chickering and twelve others chosen Vice Presidents, Charles H. Frothingham and George H. Gordon Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, and F. A. Richardson, Treasurer. In the absence of the President, Justin Jones, Esq., was called to the chair. Speeches were made by Mr. Dennett of Louisiana, Col. L. Saltonstall and J. Davis.

# EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

MONDAY EVENING, JUNE 25, 1860.

## SECOND EDITION.

**THE POLITICS OF THE COUNTRY.** There are two Democratic candidates for the Presidency,—J. C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, the Vice President of the United States, and S. A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois. If neither of these candidates withdraws, a quadrangular contest ensues, in which the divided Democratic party has to contend with a united Republican organization, as well as the Constitutional Union party, under the leadership of Bell and Everett.

The Convention which nominated Mr. Breckinridge was composed of most of the politicians heretofore recognized as leaders of the Democracy—men distinguished by their deeds in many a well fought political battle, and who are entitled to the name of veterans in the cause. We need not recall them. A glance at the published doings of the conclave will confirm this statement. These managers have likewise earned a reputation for astuteness, which is not belied by the nomination they have made. John C. Breckinridge today represents the leading ideas of the dominant faction in the Democratic party. With ultra Southern views upon the debatable topics between different sections of the country, he is far from being a political trickster, and stands manfully by his doctrines, accepting their logical results. He is young in years, but has already achieved an eminence which testifies to his capacity. Some of his published speeches show him to possess no mean power as an orator. The objections to him in the Free States will relate not to his personal character, but to the platform on which he stands.

Senator Douglas is an able politician rather than an eminent statesman; but his popularity, at least a few years ago, was probably greater with the masses of the people than any other member of his party. His prominence before the nation is owing to a naturally strong mind, and his constitutional boldness—a quality, which, unsustained by the highest moral principles, is apt to become timid and time serving in the face of an overshadowing danger. It was his personal ambition which led him to advocate the repeal of the Missouri compromise, throwing Kansas open to the hazard of slave occupancy, and causing an "agitation" throughout the land not yet allayed. This needless disturbance of a time honored compact will not soon be forgotten. There is a poetic justice in his being opposed at Charleston and Baltimore by that slave interest, for which he had sacrificed so much.

The most probable issue of the election, should Messrs. Breckinridge and Douglas both persist in being candidates, would seem to be the success of Lincoln, the Republican candidate, or perhaps a non-election by the popular voice, and a resort to the House of Representatives as the elective body. Since the Charleston Convention, a gradual preparation of the public mind, North and South, for a change of national administration, has been occurring, and a Republican management of the general government would now be accepted without any disturbance, if that party obtains the supremacy. The Democratic friends of Douglas and Breckinridge entertain slight regard for each other, and, provided neither succeeds, the gratification of the supporters of each will be supreme.

In the contingency of a failure of any candidate for the Presidency to secure a majority of the Electoral College, the popular branch of Congress will be called upon to elect the President "from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President." The vote must be taken by States. "If the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death

or other constitutional disability of the President," says the twelfth article of amendments to the United States Constitution. The power to choose the Vice-President is not confided to the House, but the Senate must perform this duty, by electing one of the two receiving the highest numbers for the Vice-Presidency from the Electoral College.

It is therefore, not an impossibility, that General Lane, of Oregon, the candidate for Vice President on the Breckinridge ticket, may be for the four years from the fourth of March, the acting President of the United States, chosen by the Senate. The friends of Breckinridge have a majority in the Senate, who would of course prefer Mr. Lane. But the supporters of Bell and Everett express great confidence that their candidates will carry the electoral votes of several Southern States, through Democratic divisions, and thus the election be transferred to the House of Representatives, in which the only probable solution, it is claimed, from the present composition of that body, must be the triumph of the Constitutional Union nominee for the Presidency. As we previously stated, the choice of the Vice President devolves upon the Senate, unless the people are sufficiently united to elect that functionary.

In the multiplicity of Presidential candidates, large opportunity is offered for selection. The Democrats have two candidates of widely different characters and antagonistic opinions. They are the only party which has attempted the dangerous experiment of beating the enemy with divided forces.

Bost. Herald  
June 29, 1860

**THE HUMORS OF POLITICS.** The Washington correspondent of the Boston Herald states that the friends of Senator Douglas are entirely confident of success, and feel certain that he will carry New York 35, Pennsylvania 27, New Jersey 7, Connecticut 6, Rhode Island 4, Illinois 11, Indiana 13, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, Ohio 23, Minnesota 4, North Carolina 10, Alabama 9, Louisiana 6, Georgia 10, Missouri 9, Virginia 15,—196.

The Journal of Commerce of New York sets down as sure for Breckenridge and Lane—Virginia 15, North Carolina 10, South Carolina 8, Georgia 10, Florida 3, Alabama 9, Mississippi 7, Tennessee 12, Kentucky 12, Arkansas 4, Texas 4, California 4, Oregon 3,—101. The Journal thinks there may be some doubt about Tennessee, it being Bell's home. That paper says in looking for the States certain for Douglas we search in vain for a *single one*.

The New York Herald asserts that the only way to prevent Lincoln's election by the people, is to take the vote of New York from him, by a combination Douglas, Breckinridge and Bell electoral ticket in that State.

# EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 2, 1880.

## BRILLIANTS.

### SERENADE.

What gentle music wakens me,  
And murmurs in my ear?  
O mother! see! Who can it be,  
At this late hour, so near?

I hear no sound, no form I see;  
Sink to thy rest, so mild;  
No serenade comes now to thee,  
Thou poor and sickly child!

It was no music born of earth  
That made my heart so light:  
O mother! 'twas the angels' song  
That led me.—Good night!  
From the German of Umland.

### STANZAS.

Hark! Italy's music  
Melts over the sea;  
Falling light from some lattice,  
Where cavaliers be:  
And sweet lady voices  
Steal over the deep,  
To hush all around us  
The billows to sleep.

Our goudola gently  
Goes over the wave;  
As though it were dreaming  
To sounds that enslave:—  
We listen—we listen!  
How blessed are we,  
Who hear this dim music  
O'er Italy's sea!

[D. L. Richardson.]

### SMILES AND TEARS.

There are moments in life when the lip and the eye  
Try the question of whether to smile or to cry;  
And scenes and reunions that prompt like our own  
The tender in feeling, the playful in tone.

[Whittier.]

**POLITICAL.** The Hon. Anson Burlingame addressed his constituents last evening at Sumner Hall, East Boston, which was crowded to overflowing. Mr. Burlingame spoke for two hours and a half, and was greeted with frequent applause.

A meeting was held last evening at 177 Court street—head quarters of the Lincoln and Hamlin Republicans—to organize a Rail-Splitters' Battalion. Lyman S. Hapgood presided, and N. C. A. Preble officiated as Secretary. A constitution and by-laws were adopted, after which the following were elected officers of the Battalion. Commander—Samuel D. Bates. Assistant Commanders—Henry Warren, J. Henry Davis, Linus Childs, Jr., Albert S. Pratt, — Oates, George W. Orne. Clerk—Harry S. Bernard. Treasurer—N. C. A. Preble. A drab cape, and black glazed cap with red band, was adopted as a uniform. The torch lamp was also selected for illumination, instead of the lantern. About one hundred signed the constitution. It promises to be quite large. The organization is to be made of Republicans residing in Wards 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 7.

The regular weekly meeting of the Roxbury Douglas and Johnson Club was held at their room in Dearborn's Building, Roxbury, last evening, and there was a large number present. Remarks were made by Mr. Guiney and others.

The Bell and Everett Club No. 1, of Roxbury, held a business meeting at their room in Guildhall Building, last evening, the President of the Club, Hon. Sanford M. Hunt, in the chair. The Club voted to join in the procession of the Central Club of Boston, and attend the meeting of the Union Club of Charlestown, which is to be held this evening in that city. The Secretary was authorized to subscribe, on behalf of the Club, for one hundred copies each of the "Campaign Union" and "Spirit of '76." The Finance Committee was instructed to procure a larger hall for the use of the Club, and the meeting adjourned with three cheers for Bell and Everett.

*Dear Transcript:* Perhaps there is not a street in any city of our country that is more beautiful and imposing than Michigan avenue. It is very wide, and graded with a gravel from Joliet that becomes hard almost as rock. Its length is from three to four miles, and for about a third of this distance the avenue runs upon the shore of Lake Michigan. The palace residences, built chiefly of Athens and Joliet stone, situated upon the west side of the avenue, command a view of all the shipping of the lake. In point of style and finish, many of these residences equal the best dwellings of New York and Boston. Directly in front of these mansions, and some four hundred feet from the shore, the great Illinois Central Railroad enters the city, running parallel with the avenue about a mile and a half. Its immense depot, larger than any other in the country, occupies ground that has been taken from the lake—so that more than a mile of the road, with the depot, freight houses and yard room, is on lake territory.

Last evening I stood upon the avenue when the train arrived, bringing the masses that went from this city to attend the political gathering at Springfield. It was more than a mile in length, drawn by two large engines. Many of the cars were splendidly illuminated by torch-lights projected from the windows, and the shouts sent up by the vast crowd were heard above the breaking waves of the lake, before the train arrived upon the shore. It was a grand sight—fifty cars filled with people from the home of Lincoln. Slowly the vast train moved along, and when the engines entered the great depot, the rear car, with its glittering torches, was so far distant that it had the appearance of a vast body of fire.

I never saw a more enthusiastic crowd. They all brought the most glowing accounts of the gathering at Springfield. Some estimated the number at fifty thousand, some at seventy-five thousand, and some at a hundred thousand; and one clerical looking character said it was a multitude which no man could number. All concurred in saying that the meeting was in all respects a success—in numbers a success—in enthusiasm a success—and all were ready to bet their heads that Lincoln will carry Illinois with twenty thousand to spare.

To-day the Douglasites are talking of a reception for their idol; and no doubt they will have one, and a great one, too, for in ardor they are by no means behind the Republicans. A few days since, as I was standing in one of our depots, a likeness of Douglas was offered for sale. A son of Erin stepped up, and, with a face beaming with delight, exclaimed, "That's the feller. That's our next President. What a head. Hurrah for Dug. He's the boy. He's no black republican fighting for niggers." The Douglas men are really in earnest, and seem to think themselves personally obligated to do their best.

The farmers have generally secured their grain, and some have already turned it into money. The yield is immense, from an eighth to a quarter more than was anticipated. The head is full, the kernel large. Farmers are greatly encouraged—so are merchants and mechanics. A gentleman said yesterday he had received over six thousand dollars within a few days, of debts that he had considered valueless. The payment was made out of proceeds from grain just harvested. The good time coming is close at hand—already we hear its cheering songs.

Railroad men are in a dilemma. During the past three years some of our roads have had only a meagre amount of business; now the prospect is, that they will have more than they can do. The Illinois Central has contracted for twenty-five hundred freight cars, and other roads are making large outlays for the same purpose.

The corn crop is immense. Already in some portions of the State it is out of danger, and in three weeks of good weather it will be past the point of injury by frost in all parts of the State. Corn stands safe from rain and snow if not gathered till winter. By a singular law, the ear as soon as it begins to ripen bends over, turning the

tip of it downward, thus forming a perfect protection against all harm from wet. In consequence of this, no corn is cleaner or harder than that gathered late in the fall. Many farmers turn their hogs into a field and let them do the harvesting.

The Douglasites have procured North's Theatre for their head quarters. It is a large building, capable of holding some twenty-five hundred persons. It was dedicated a few nights since with great parade. The speakers of the different parties are about equally matched for talent, though I doubt whether Trumbull and Carl Schurz have any equals in the Douglas ranks. They are men of great power. Schurz is original, strong, eloquent, witty—a man of rare talents. No speeches are read with more interest and satisfaction than his. Mr. Lincoln had the wisdom to make no formal speech at the recent gathering in his place. His course was judicious. All know that he can talk, and equal to any man of the West. Douglas knows that; and, having done his share in preparing the country for intelligent action, it is fitting that Lincoln should leave the campaign to the people.

Yours,

CHICAGO.

15  
POLITICS. In the working of political matters, many occurrences are constantly transpiring which would lead the superficial observer to believe that principle is altogether divorced from politics, and that the struggle is merely for place. The possession or non-possession of the tens of thousands of offices at the disposal of the General Government seems to be the real incentive to efforts for political supremacy. Parties which began with the purest and most patriotic of motives, actuated solely by a love of country, and a desire to maintain intact the best government known among men, before the canvass has long advanced, unite with other parties formerly denounced by them as enemies to the Union and dangerous to the maintenance of the best institutions of the country.

Every day furnishes some new instance of extremes meeting in politics. Senator Mason denounced Douglas as half-way over to abolitionism at the recent Breckinridge Convention, yet that Convention passed a resolution instructing the electors from Virginia to vote for whoever could defeat the Republican presidential nominee. The Douglas men in the State of New York denounce the controllers of the Breckinridge movement as "disunionists," but many of them favor a plan for placing several Breckenridge electors upon the ticket to be presented to the people of that State for their votes. The leaders of the various political divisions do not appear to see any inconsistency in entangling alliances, and doubtless are of opinion that the mass of the voters have no decided political convictions. They ignore the fact that great contests upon questions of public policy in this country are usually decided upon the basis of principle. The people, almost universally, fail to ratify temporary agreements between parties having for their object the occupancy of official stations. Honest citizens, everywhere throughout the Union, have no other interest in political contests, than to keep the government of the land on the broad track of freedom and prosperity, in which it was started by its founders.

Adjourned.

POLITICAL. Meetings of the various clubs were held last evening. The Jackson Democratic Club (Breckinridge) convened at their rooms, 47 Hanover street, Jonathan Nazro in the chair. The chairman congratulated the Association on the success which had attended it. Addresses were made during the evening by William A. Tarlton of Texas, and John Bowell of Montgomery, Alabama, and others.

The Bell and Everett Central Club had a meeting at their headquarters last evening. Benj. Stevens, Esq., presided. Addresses were made by Hon. W. S. Flippen, of Nashville, Tenn.; J. E. Payton, Esq., of N. J., and Mr. Streeter of Lowell.

The Lincoln and Hamlin Club No. 2, met at their headquarters last evening, Mr. J. A. Nowell, the president, in the chair. Much business was transacted, and it was announced that arrangements had been made by which the Trimountain Wide Awakes would hold their meetings at the place where the meeting was then assembled.

The Democrats of Ward Three assembled in small numbers, in the entry of the National Building, Travers street, last evening, in accordance with a call issued for a public meeting at that place. It turned out that the call was a hoax, and nobody appeared to claim the paternity of the meeting. This is the second time the "unterrified" have been hoaxed in Ward 3.

At a meeting of the Republicans of Ward Three, Cambridge, on Saturday evening, a Lincoln and Hamlin Club was formed, with the following officers: Lewis Hall, President; Charles B. Stevens and S. H. Folsom, Secretaries; Franklin Hall, Corresponding Secretary. The club will have its headquarters in the same room as the Fremont Club met at the last campaign, on Cambridge street.

**POLITICAL.** The supporters of Breckinridge claim as sure for him, in the South, South Carolina, having 8 electoral votes; Florida, 3; Mississippi, 7; Texas, 4; and Arkansas, 4—total, 26. They contend that their chance for carrying the following named States is altogether the best: Virginia, 15; North Carolina, 10; Tennessee, 12; Kentucky, 12; Alabama, 9; Georgia, 10; Louisiana, 6; Delaware, 3—total, 77. The Bell and Everett party, however, feel sure of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and have strong hopes of Virginia. Maryland is generally allowed for the Union candidate. Missouri is considered doubtful. The Boston Courier, of this morning, avers that the entire Southern vote, with the exception of South Carolina, will be cast for Bell and Everett.

The Courier makes the following prediction:

It has been demonstrated that Abraham Lincoln is to be defeated in November. There can be no question that the Bell and Everett ticket will either be *first* or *second* in the Presidential race before the people. Possibly Hamlin will be the second highest Vice Presidential candidate. In that event, the two names to go before the Senate are those of Everett and Hamlin, and Mr. Everett will be elected Vice President.

The Washington correspondent of the Journal of Commerce, one of the most sagacious political writers of the Southern wing of the Democratic party, thus speculates on the Presidential question:

Every one seems to be tired of speculation, as to the course which the anti-Republicans of New York are to take in regard to the Presidential election—whether they will divide and be conquered, or unite and triumph. It has been considered as quite a doubtful question, but is probably less so since the publication of the address of the Breckinridge Central Executive Committee.

Even if New York should defeat Lincoln, which is quite uncertain, there will be difficulty enough in preventing his election by the House.

The Republicans may win over Morris, of Illinois, and carry that State, making sixteen. They will want then but one more State to secure the election of Lincoln, and they can have Oregon by unseating Mr. Sloat and giving the seat to his contestant, Mr. Logan.

The fourteen Democratic States would make no combinations, for they would rely on the failure of the House to make a choice, when Lane would become President. In the supposed case, the Democrats would adhere to Breckinridge till the end of the session, and leave to Republicans the chances of using corrupt means for effecting the choice of Lincoln.

But, if Bell should go before the House instead of Douglas as one of the three, the result would be almost certain. The fifteen Republican States will prefer Bell to either Breckinridge or Lane, and with Tennessee and Illinois can choose him.

In view of all the difficulties which might attend an election by the House, it would be well if the Electoral Colleges, pursuing the advice of Virginia, would themselves agree upon a candidate.

# EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 30, 1860.

## SECOND EDITION.

**POLITICAL MANAGEMENT.** Recent events certainly tend to show, that

*The best laid schemes o' mice an men  
Gang aft agley!*

We have commented on the fact that a recent volume professing to contain the biography of some forty "Representative Men," one of whom was to be the next President, did not allude in the most distant manner to the name of Abraham Lincoln! and probably no nomination for the presidency ever was made which took the politicians and wire-pullers so much by surprise as that of the honest Illinoisan.

We now have something of the sort nearer home. The people of Massachusetts are really beginning to take matters into their own hands, and the result at Worcester is an evidence of what they can do when they try. The managers had arranged the whole matter very nicely. The usual cry of "Western Massachusetts" when any small men are to be elevated into office, and the power of a central clique is to be preserved, was raised.

The delegates had nearly all been chosen before Gov. Banks resigned, and his intended resignation seemed mysteriously to have been known in Springfield and New York before Eastern Massachusetts had a lip of it; and everything seemed likely to go as merrily and smoothly as a "marriage bell;" but when the impression got abroad that this thing had been all out and dried, there was about as much excitement as is often found in a political campaign, and the Convention at Worcester was one of the largest and most animated ever held.

An attempt to navigate the names of certain Presidential electors through the Convention was only partially successful, and if a ballot had been taken, probably a very different result would have been reached in this respect, for the committee, it is reported, although carefully and judiciously selected, were equally divided for a long time.

Whether the parties concerned in this manoeuvre will gain much by it, remains to be seen. As a general principle, all tricks by which the real wishes of a body of men are defeated return to plague the inventors; for although in the hurry and bustle of a Convention such underhand movement may not be detected, yet when it is understood and is appreciated, it is not soon forgotten, or those who are parties to it.

**POLITICAL MATTERS.** A waggish correspondent of the Boston Post thinks the nomination of Mr. Andrew for Governor will injure the prospects of the Republicans in South Carolina!

A person in New York expresses the opinion that, as Mr. Lincoln stands six feet four in his stockings, it is reasonable to suppose that if he succeeds, *extreme measures* will prevail.

The Boston Courier thus closes some observations on the Worcester Convention of yesterday:

There are men, who are led on from one step to another, the instruments of their own destruction, until it is completed. Of this class seem to be the Republicans, who composed the Convention at Worcester. The nomination made by them, we doubt not, has made the electoral vote of Massachusetts sure for Bell and Everett.

The New York World thus comments on the stump speeches of Presidential candidates:

If such a scrupulous observer of the proprieties as Mr. Breckinridge can be goaded into taking the stump to repel what he calls a "torrent of defamation," we assume a good deal in vouching for the good behavior of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Bell. But these last are steady-going, self-possessed, sober-minded citizens; while Mr. Breckinridge, with his refined manners, is a little thin-skinned and sensitive. As for Douglas, he is full of restless, reckless audacity—one of your bold, plucky, resolute men, who never lets I dare not wait upon I would. Nobody ought to be surprised at his course, for it is characteristic of the man.

The veteran editor of the Salem Gazette, one of the best informed political writers of the country, evidently has no special horror of a President elected by Northern votes. Hear him!

Was John Quincy Adams a dangerous President? Was he not one of the most upright, one of the most able, and one of the most successful of our Chief Magistrates? And yet he did not receive the majority of the electoral vote of a single slaveholding State. All the votes that he did obtain from the Southern States were, three out of eleven from Maryland, one out of three from Delaware, and two out of five from Louisiana—in all, six electoral votes out of 103. Yet, hostile as was the South to John Quincy Adams, he none the less made a truly national President; for the very good reason, that he administered his office after the example left him by the earlier statesmen of the Republic—precisely the example that we wish to see again copied by Mr. Lincoln.

The Washington correspondent of the Journal of Commerce, under date of the 27th, writes—

The political temperature in this part of the country, as I found in recent visits in Maryland and Virginia, is rather warm. The struggle between the three parties—the Douglas men, the Breckinridge men, and the Bell men—is very animated; and it is difficult to say which of the three parties is most hostile to the election of Lincoln.

It is to be remarked that almost universally in the South, the election of Lincoln is deemed a foregone conclusion. All political speculations are based upon it. There has never existed much confidence in the disposition of the New York anti-Republican leaders to enter into a hearty and general cooperation; and whatever hope there was of such a result, is discouraged by the distance which the Breckinridge Committee and the Douglas-Bell Committee maintain between each other. It is true, though as you suggest, that neither may be so bad as they seem, and that the fusion, which you have so zealously and patriotically urged, may still be effected.

The Hon. A. H. Hamilton, M. C. from Texas, said in a recent speech, that the Douglas men of that State are prepared to submit to the election of Lincoln, or anybody else who may be chosen by a majority of the people, and to hang all who undertake treason because their candidates are not successful.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Commercial Advertiser writes:

There is much speculation upon the subject of the consequences of Lincoln's election, which is more dreaded now than was a British invasion in Madison's time. It was predicted here some years ago, that one day the Goths from the Northwest would invade the city, and capture, not slave niggers, as the British did in 1814, but the federal offices, which from the beginning of things have been the birthright of the people of Virginia, Maryland, &c. It was never believed, however, that such a thing could happen here; now it has become probable, and is regarded as almost inevitable.

ALL OVER.—The following is the final judgment of the New York Herald. It would appear that somebody has been cornered in the stock market and is particularly anxious to have holders "realize" at once:—

"The day for the redemption of New York has gone by. She will vote for Lincoln, and if by a majority equal to the whole population of Kansas, it will not surprise us. There is no genuine fusion between the Breekinridge and Douglas factions. The breach has widened between them since these late elections.... A tremendous revolution is upon us, and every man concerned in Southern trade or Northern stocks would do well to set his house in order."

BOSTON ADV

# LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor.  
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No. 348

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

December 9, 1935

## CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENCY AND VICE PRESIDENCY—1860

Four different political parties entered the contest for the elections of 1860: Republican, Constitutional Union, Democratic, and National Democratic. Three of the candidates for the presidency were born in the South and one in New England. Two of the candidates for the vice presidency were born in the South and the other two in New England. Two of the presidential candidates at the time of the campaign were living in Illinois, however, while the other two were southerners. The campaign was really a contest between the West and the South.

The youngest presidential candidate, Breckenridge, was but thirty-nine years of age; the oldest, Bell, was sixty-three. Both Lincoln and his running mate, Hamlin, were the same age, fifty-one; both Douglas and his associate, Johnson, were the same age, forty-seven.

Lincoln, Breckenridge, and Lane all spent their early days in Kentucky. Lincoln and Lane left Kentucky the same year and lived in adjacent counties in southern Indiana for fourteen years. Lincoln's wife was born in the same city, where Breckenridge was born three years later, and they grew up in the same social group. Lincoln, Hamline, Bell, Douglas, and Johnson were all members of the Thirtieth Congress. Edward Everett, opponent of Lincoln in 1860 and principal speaker at Gettysburg in 1863, was a Presidential Elector for Lincoln in 1864. Four of the eight men who were candidates for the presidency and vice presidency in 1860 were dead by 1865.

Below are cited important facts relating to the eight candidates with special attention given to their political history:

### REPUBLICAN PARTY

**Abraham Lincoln**  
of Illinois  
1809, Feb. 12, Born near Hodgenville, Kentucky.  
....., Educated in pioneer log cabin schools.  
1832, Captain in Black Hawk War.  
1833-1836, Postmaster at New Salem, Illinois.  
1834-1842, Whig Representative in State Legislature.  
1836, Admitted to the bar.  
1847-1849, Whig Representative in Congress.  
1861-1865, President of the United States elected by Republican party.  
1865, President of the United States elected by Union party.  
1865, April 15, died at Washington, D. C.

**Hannibal Hamlin**  
of Maine  
1809, Aug. 27, Born in Paris, Maine.  
....., Educated at Hebron Academy.  
1833, Admitted to the bar.  
1836-1840, Democratic Representative in State Legislature.  
1843-1844, Democratic Representative in Congress.  
1847, Democratic Representative in State Legislature.  
1848-1857, Democratic U.S. Senator.  
1857, Republican Governor of Maine.  
1857-1860, Republican U.S. Senator.  
1861-1865, Republican Vice President.  
1869-1881, Republican U.S. Senator.  
1891, July 4, Died at Bangor, Maine

### CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY

**John Bell**  
of Tennessee  
1797, Feb. 15, Born near Nashville, Tennessee.  
1814, Graduated from Cumberland College.  
1816, Admitted to the bar.  
1817, Democratic State Senator.  
1827-1841, Whig Representative in Congress.  
1841, Secretary of War in Harrison's Cabinet.  
1847, Whig Representative in State Legislature.  
1847-1859, Whig U. S. Senator.  
1860, Candidate for Presidency on Constitutional Union ticket.  
1869, Sept. 4, Died at Cumberland Iron Works, Tennessee.

**Edward Everett**  
of Massachusetts  
1794, April 11, born in Dorchester, Massachusetts.  
1811, Graduated from Harvard College.  
1814, Ordained minister of the Unitarian Church.  
1825-1835, Whig Representative in Congress.  
1836-1840, Governor of Massachusetts.  
1841-1845, Minister to Great Britain.  
1846-1849, President, Harvard College.  
1852-1853, Secretary of State in Filmore's Cabinet.  
1853-1854, Whig United States Senator.  
1860, Candidate for vice presidency on Constitutional Union ticket.  
1865, Jan. 15, Died in Boston, Massachusetts.

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY

**Stephen A. Douglas**  
of Illinois  
1813, April 23, Born in Brandon, Vermont.  
....., Educated at Brandon Academy.  
1834, Admitted to the bar.  
1835, State Attorney for Morgan Circuit.  
1840-1841, Secretary of State for Illinois.  
1841, Judge of State Supreme Court.  
1843-1847, Democratic Representative to Congress.  
1853-1861, Democratic U. S. Senator.  
1860, Candidate for Presidency on Democratic ticket.  
1861, June 3, Died in Chicago.

**Herschel V. Johnson**  
of Georgia  
1812, Sept. 18, Born in Burke County, Georgia.  
1834, Graduated from Franklin College.  
1834, Admitted to the bar.  
1848-1849, Democratic U.S. Senator.  
1849-1853, Judge of Superior Court for the Ocmulgee District.  
1853-1857, Governor of Georgia.  
1860, Candidate for Vice Presidency on Democratic ticket.  
1861-1865, Senator in Confederate Congress.  
1873-1880, Circuit Judge.  
1880, Aug. 16, Died in Jefferson County, Georgia.

### NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

**John C. Breckenridge**  
of Kentucky  
1821, Jan. 21, Born near Lexington, Kentucky.  
....., Educated at Center College and Transylvania University.  
....., Admitted to the bar.  
1847, Maj. in Mexican war.  
1851-1855, Democratic Representative in State Legislature.  
1856-1860, Vice President.  
1860, Candidate for Presidency on National Democratic ticket.  
1861, Democratic U.S. Senator.  
1861, Major-General in Confederate Army.  
1861-1865, Secretary of War for Confederacy.  
1873, May 17, Died in Lexington, Kentucky.

**Joseph Lane**  
of Oregon  
1801, Dec. 14, Born in Buncombe County, North Carolina.  
....., Educated in common schools at Henderson, Kentucky.  
1822-1846, Served in both houses of State Legislature.  
1846, Colonel in Mexican War, later Brigadier General.  
1847, Brevet Maj. General.  
1849-1850, Governor of Oregon Territory.  
1853, Governor of Oregon Territory.  
1859-1861, Democratic U.S. Senator.  
1860, Candidate for Vice Presidency on National Democratic ticket.  
1861, April 19, Died at Roseburg, Oregon.



917  
1857

# Missouri in the 1860 Campaign

Correspondence of Thomas C. Reynolds

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THE CONTINUED GROWTH of the new Republican Party, the expiring strength of the once powerful American Party, and the division of the Democratic Party into two hostile groups along sectional lines, place the campaign of 1860 among the bitterest political contests in American history.

The Republican and the Constitutional Union Parties had no serious difficulties over their platforms or their candidates. The Republicans, first organized in 1856, named Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin as their standard bearers. The Constitutional Union Party, composed of old-line Whigs, and which had been known as the American Party in 1856, nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

But the Democrats were less successful in the preservation of party harmony. The "popular sovereignty" doctrine of Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the recognized leader of the party, was not acceptable to the Southern delegates, who walked out of the Democratic National Convention and held a Convention of their own, nominating John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon. The regular Democrats, after unsuccessful attempts to unite the party, nominated Douglas and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia.

It is often difficult to determine whether the bitterness of the Democratic factions was more intense against their Republican and Union opponents, or against one another.

Not only in the national field, but also in the state campaigns, the struggle of the Douglas Democrats was to retain their following, and prevent desertions to Breckinridge. This was especially noticeable in the Border States, where the influence of the State leaders might easily have changed the result of the election.

In Missouri the regular Democrats nominated Claiborne F. Jackson for Governor, and Thomas C. Reynolds for Lieutenant-Governor. In the three letters here presented can be seen the effort to retain them among the ranks of the Douglas adherents; the prognostications as to the result of the election; and the effort to counteract the Lincoln, the Breckinridge, and the Bell campaigns.

Thomas C. Reynolds was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on October 11, 1821. Educated at the University of Virginia and the University of Heidelberg, Germany, he was admitted to the bar in 1844. In 1846 he was appointed secretary of the United States legation at Madrid; at the close of his term he returned to this country, and in 1850 located at St. Louis, Missouri. In 1853 he was appointed United States District Attorney for Missouri, and held the office until 1857, when he resigned. It was during this period that his famous duel with B. Gratz Brown over a political quarrel took place. In 1860 he was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri on the ticket with Claiborne F. Jackson for Governor, and was elected. After the fall of Camp Jackson he cast his fortunes with the Southern cause, and was deposed by the State Convention. On the death of Governor Jackson in 1862 he was recognized by the Missouri Confederate soldiers as Governor of the state, and when General Price made his last raid in 1864, he

offered himself as volunteer aide to General Shelby and accompanied the expedition from beginning to end. At the close of the war he went to Mexico, where he became friend and counselor to Maximilian. He returned to Missouri in 1868, and in 1874 was elected to the Legislature, and two years later was appointed a member of the United States Commission to visit the South and Central American countries and report on the condition of commerce between them and this country. His death was by suicide during a temporary mental derangement, on March 30, 1887, at St. Louis, Missouri.

In this first letter to Reynolds, from Charles D. Drake, the argument for Douglas is well and strongly presented.

Charles Daniel Drake was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on April 11, 1811. After serving three years as midshipman in the United States Navy, he was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1833. He moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1834. As a member of the Missouri House of Representatives in 1859, he was conspicuous for his opposition to the secession movement. He was elected Senator from Missouri in 1867, but resigned to accept the appointment of Chief Justice of the Court of Claims in Washington. He died on March 31, 1892.

*Letter from Charles D. Drake to Thomas C. Reynolds*

St Louis, June 29, 1860.

Thomas C. Reynolds, Esq.,  
Columbia,

Dear Sir,

I very much fear that you and Major Jackson are in danger of making a great mistake, in holding back from

declaring yourselves in favor of the nominee of the National Democratic Convention. The question is not whether you are "Douglas men" or "Breckinridge men"; but whether you, the nominees of a Democratic State Convention, will sustain the Nominee of a Democratic National Convention. The question is not whether the views of Mr. Breckinridge are better for the South than those of Mr. Douglas; but whether the action of the Democratic Party of the whole Country, north & south, shall be sustained by Democrats. To go for Breckinridge, nominated by bolters from the Democracy, against Douglas nominated by the Democracy, because the former is supposed to be more favorable to the South—what is it but abandoning the *National* position the Democratic Party has so long maintained, and turning the contest into a purely *Sectional* one? To abandon at such a juncture the position taken by the National Democratic Convention—what is it but giving the Presidency to the Black Republicans? I am afraid longer silence on your part will not answer. It is whispered here that Jackson is for Breckinridge: if so, how can he continue in the canvass? The Convention that nominated him sent Delegates to the National Convention. Shall he claim the benefit of their action in his favor, and repudiate the other?

Yours Truly

Chas: D. Drake

[Endorsed by Reynolds] C. D. Drake to T. C. Reynolds/  
St Louis 29 June 1860/ Rec'd Columbia Mo. 3 July/  
Advising support of Judge Douglas for the Presiden-  
cy./No answer necessary, as I had already declared for  
Douglas.

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As indicated by the endorsement on the preceding letter, Reynolds decided in favor of Douglas, and gave active support to his campaign. In this next letter, from Judge

Samuel Treat, is a careful analysis of the political trend in Missouri and throughout the country.

Judge Treat was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on December 17, 1815. He graduated from Harvard in 1837, and after teaching in New York State for several years, moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1841, where he was admitted to the bar. He was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1849 and from 1851 to 1857, and United States Judge for the Eastern District of Missouri from 1857 until 1887. He died August 31, 1902.

The initials "C. F." in the following letter refer to Claiborne F. Jackson. The state convention of the Breckinridge Democrats had nominated as their candidate for Governor his cousin, Hancock Jackson. In the state election, held in August, Claiborne F. Jackson and Reynolds were elected.

*Letter from Samuel Treat to Thomas C. Reynolds*

St. Louis, Sept. 1<sup>st</sup> 1860.

Dear Sir:—

The papers give all the information we have. During the State Canvass, the *Bulletin* &c. insisted that Hancock Jackson would poll a larger vote than C. F.—and at first was confident of his election. Under ordinary circumstances Breckinridge might have divided the Democrat votes of Missouri about equally with Douglas; but the indications now are that he will not receive 25,000 in the State. The shrewdest "prognosticators" set down the probabilities in this way: Douglas 68,000; Bell 47,000; Breck 25,000; Lincoln 20,000. No one who seems to know, claims for Breck over 30,000; or for Bell over 55,000.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious

<sup>1</sup> The election results in Missouri were: Douglas 58,801; Bell 58,372; Breckinridge 31,317; Lincoln 17,028.

that the contest in Mo. is between Douglas and Bell, with the chances for D. The danger is that the Blacks will vote for Bell, notwithstanding their leaders oppose. The pretence—or simultaneous outcry in the *Bulletin, News* and *Democrat*—about a fusion between Douglas and Bell men in Mo. or overtures to that end—is a pure fiction, started by those three cliques for electioneering purposes. No such overture has been made by any Douglas men.

The Breck Convention will be suffered to take its own course; and after it has acted, the regular organization will move. A regular Democratic State Convention—probably a Mass State Convention—will be held in St. Louis just before the Fair, at which Soulé of La., Stephens of Ga., Horatio Seymour of New York, &c. will be invited to speak.

The indications are now satisfactory that Lincoln will be defeated, and that Breck will carry no State except S. Carolina. New York will probably go for the fusion electoral ticket—Douglas and Bell. I still adhere to my opinion that the House will fail to elect, and that Everett will be the next President.

Capt. Harper informs me that Douglas, Lincoln and Breck will be at the St. Louis Fair, and possibly Bell. Such a meeting will attract immense crowds to our city; and it will be difficult to prevent enthusiastic partisan demonstrations.

You see that Mo. papers are outspoken about Green and Polk. What I wished to avoid, cannot, I think, be now prevented. A determined effort will be made to defeat our friend Green. Col. Kennett says an active correspondence is kept up with the members elect, and that Green is inevitably defeated. If the question were to be decided in caucus, I think Green would prevail; but the cry has gone forth, that as he has formed a new party and organization, none of its member will be admitted into a Democratic caucus. The very danger against which he was warned by

his *true* friends, has been brought upon him. Whilst I am still of opinion that he may be saved, if judicious counsels prevail at the Breck State Convention, I think the next General Assembly will not make a choice, if the Presidential contest goes on in Mo. as now inaugurated.

We are all pleased to hear of Mrs. Reynolds improving health. The weather here has been delightful for the last two weeks.

The kind regards of Mrs. T., Mary and myself to Mrs. R.  
Yours

S. Treat.

There is very little business for the District Court. There will be no need for your return. What little is to be done, can be gone through with and finished in a week.

[Endorsed by Reynolds] Hon. S. Treat to T. C. R./Rec'd  
Gloucester Mass. 4 Sept<sup>r</sup> '60/Answ'd 5 [Sept.]/on Mo.  
politics &c./See draft within.

The St. Louis Fair opened on September 24, 1860. Captain André Harper, the President of the Association, making every effort to equal the success of the preceding year, invited the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the four political parties to visit the Fair—also the Prince of Wales, then travelling in America, and other prominent men. The publicity gained by these invitations was of great value to the Fair, although none of the candidates attended. The Prince, however, accepted the invitation, and his attendance at the Fair amply repaid Captain Harper for his efforts.

The paragraph concerning Green and Polk has reference to the senatorial contest in Missouri. James Stephen Green's term in the United States Senate expired March 3, 1861; he was unsuccessful in his campaign for re-election, being

defeated by Waldo Porter Johnson. Both Johnson and his colleague, Trusten Polk, were expelled from the Senate in January, 1862, for disloyalty; and both served as officers in the Confederate Army. Luther M. Kennett, three times mayor of St. Louis, was a member of the United States House of Representatives in 1855-1857.

The following letter is of particular interest, as it is Reynolds' original draft and contains the many corrections, both of thought and of grammar, which would be missing in the finished letter. With the exception of the extract from Hallett's speech, it is entirely in Reynolds' hand. Corrections of a structural or grammatical nature are not shown here; those, however, which carry thoughts different from the final writing are given in brackets. An analysis of these eliminated passages indicate that Reynolds had constantly to keep in mind the fact that he was addressing a northern audience. As it is, pro-slavery tendencies in many places creep out, and he implies that, if secession should come, he would be forced into the ranks of its supporters.

*Letter from Thomas C. Reynolds to James M. Love  
and others, Committee, Keokuk, Iowa*

Saint Louis Mo. October 13<sup>th</sup> 1860.

Gentlemen:

On my return today to this city I found here your letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> inst inviting me to address the Democracy at Keokuk on the 18<sup>th</sup> of this month. I return you my grateful acknowledgements for the honour you thus do me, and I regret exceedingly that my engagements at home will prevent my being present at your meeting.

This regret is the greater because I am one of those Democrats who differ with Judge Douglas concerning the extent of the powers of a territorial legislature, but refuse to make that difference of opinion a test of Democratic soundness or party fealty.

From 1850 up to the meeting of the Charleston Convention, and even when the question of slavery in the territories was a pressing practical issue, requiring immediate adjustment by Congressional legislation, as in 1850 and 1854, the South was willing to stand upon the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act and the Cincinnati platform, as *common* ground on which those who differed as to the powers and duties of Congress or a Territorial Legislature might consistently meet to fight our common foe.

Now that this foe, flushed with victory in the great central States of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, is flattering itself with the hope that it will soon take possession of the general government in order to wage an insidious war against slavery in the States themselves, I see more reason than ever to deplore the infatuation of many of my [Southern *erased*] Democratic brethren, who while rushing to the defence of the remote outpost of "congressional protection", have weakened the citadel itself, the great National Democratic Party, our sure refuge in the "irrepressible conflict" between the Republican party and the domestic institutions of the South.

If there are any Iowa Democrats who have been led astray by the distant light from this abstract question of congressional protection, I regret that I will be unable to present to them, to the extent of my feeble powers, the reasons which prompt me and thousands of Missouri Democrats to refuse making any issue on it until absolutely unavoidable, and to join meanwhile with all good citizens in warding off the *present* danger to the peace and harmony of our glorious Union from the possible ascendancy of the Republican party.

That these views are founded on justice and sound policy is frequently though perhaps unconsciously admitted by Democrats who support Mr. Breckinridge.

I find in the Huntsville (Ala) *Democrat* of the 10<sup>th</sup> inst. edited by a brother of Senator Clay, an editorial lauding and endorsing the speech made by Hon. B. F. Hallett of Massachusetts delivered before the Breckinridge State Convention at Boston on the 12<sup>th</sup> of last month. In that speech, published at length in that paper, Mr. Hallett after discussing, through four long columns of closely printed matter, the differences of opinion between Mr. Breckinridge and Judge Douglas, makes these notable admissions:

"But after all, these issues are not the real issue that is before us in this Presidential election. Why don't statesmen leave off wrangling and look it in the face?

The real issue is, shall the Federal Government be re-organized upon the principle of hostility to the social organization of fifteen States of this Union?

Why, then, are the friends of the Union disputing all the day long, where there is a grand, national issue, upon which all conservative men should unite, as the paramount issue—'The Country, the Constitution, the Union', and these to be preserved only by 'the equality of the States'."

Why then discuss any other than the "*real issue*"? On that every Democrat, North and South, is of the same opinion. Looking mainly to this issue I give my cordial support to those whom I consider our regular national nominees, Douglas and Johnson.

I still have confidence that the recent victories of the Republican party are but temporary successes, which will arouse the conservative sentiment of the country, and contribute in the end to Mr. Lincoln's defeat. The friends of Breckinridge and Bell by supporting Douglas as the candidate who is unquestionably the choice of a large majority of

Mr. Lincoln's opponents in the non-slaveholding States, can defeat the Republicans in Pennsylvania, Indiana and New York, and doubtless in Iowa; and even if they merely stand by their own electoral tickets, we have well founded hopes of carrying Pennsylvania and Indiana, and the union ticket in New York has every prospect of a brilliant success.

But should the ascendancy of the Republican party be established temporarily by the result of the coming presidential election, the peace of the country and possibly the very existence of our Union may depend on the strength exhibited, even in defeat, by the Democracy of the non slaveholding States.

An overwhelming victory of our foes may encourage them to acts which would strengthen the growing feeling in the cotton States in favour of secession, while meagre majorities for Lincoln will encourage the sentiment that the South need not give up the battle as lost, but should await the result of the "sober second thought" of the people in 1864.

Let the Democracy of Iowa therefore bring out its entire strength, urge every conservative voter to make his ballot felt in the contest, and even if victory does not perch on your banner, you may still exhibit a force and vigour which when the reaction comes, as it must soon do, will carry you forward hereafter to certain success. Such a course in all the non slaveholding States would contribute greatly towards the [preservation of peace and union in our common country *erased*] future union of all who are opposed to sectionalism of every kind, and would presage the downfall of the Republican party in 1864.

When this common foe shall have been demolished, but not till then, can Democrats afford to quarrel on abstract questions. Should any such questions hereafter become of practical importance, I may [be forced to *erased*] differ with some, or even all of you, in my views and action concerning them; but we shall differ not as enemies embittered

by a needless strife, but as friends still bound together by the remembrance of victories won or defeats endured in common, while fighting under one and the same banner, for the [preservation *erased*] defence of the Union and the [rights of the *erased*] security of the South, against the most dangerous foe of both, the party which preaches an "irrepressible conflict" not only in the territories, but in the Sovereign states themselves.

I remain, Gentlemen, with great respect,  
Very truly yours  
Thos. C. Reynolds.

To  
Hon. Jas. M. Love & others,  
Committee,  
Keokuk, Iowa.

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Although the second choice of the voters of the country, Douglas was the last in respect to the number of electoral votes—receiving but 12 votes: the 9 of Missouri and 3 of New Jersey's 7. Breckinridge's 72 votes came from the Southern States, Lincoln's 180 from the North, while Bell received 39 votes from Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia.

The editors gratefully acknowledge the generous assistance of Miss Stella M. Drumm, Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, for most valuable material and research on the political campaign in Missouri.

# LINCOLN LORE

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Number 498

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

October 24, 1938

## PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES DURING 150 YEARS

There have been one-hundred and sixteen men who have received one or more electoral votes for the presidency during the history of the United States.

On February 4, 1789, the presidential electors chose George Washington as the first chief executive of the nation. There were eleven other citizens, however, who received at least one vote in the electoral college, among them Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts. The candidate placing second in this electoral vote, by virtue of the fact, became vice president. This system of balloting continued until 1804. So an unusual number of political leaders virtually became presidential candidates during the early years.

After the name of each candidate appears the native state of the nominee, the date of the election in which he was a nominee, and the party to which he belonged.

The index to party abbreviations also compiles a list of the leading political units which have put forth nominees for the presidency and the years in which they have submitted presidential candidates for office.

### Presidential Candidates

Adams, John: Mass., 1789-1800, F.  
Adams, John Q.: Mass., 1820-1828, R. (J)  
Adams Samuel: Mass., 1797, R. (J)  
Aiken, J. W.: Mass., 1936, S. L.  
Armstrong, James: Ga., 1789, F.  
Bedwell, John: Cal., 1892, P.  
Bell, John: Tenn., 1860, U.  
Benson, A. L.: N. Y., 1916, S.  
Birney, James: N. Y., 1840-1844, L.  
Blaine, James: Me., 1884, R.  
Breckinridge, John: Ky., 1860, D.  
Browder, Earl: Kan., 1936, C.  
Bryan, W. J.: Neb. 1896, D. & P., 1900, 1908, D.  
Buchanan, James: Pa., 1856, D.  
Burr, Aaron: N. Y., 1793-1800, R. (J)  
Butler, Benj.: Mass., 1884, G.  
Cass, Lewis: Mich., 1848, D.  
Chapin, Eugene: Ariz., 1908-1912, P.  
Christensen, P. P.: Utah, 1920, F. L.  
Clay, Henry: Ky., 1824, R., 1832, N. R., 1844, W.  
Cleveland, Grover: N. Y., 1884-1892, D.  
Clinton, DeWitt: N. Y., 1812, R. (J)  
Clinton, George: N. Y., 1789, F., 1793-1797, 1808, R. (J)  
Colvin, David: N. Y., 1936, P.  
Coolidge, Calvin: Mass., 1924, R.  
Cooper, Peter: N. Y., 1876, D.  
Cox, James: Ohio, 1920, D.

Coxey, Jacob: Ohio, 1932, F. L.  
Crawford, W. H.: Ga., 1824, R. (J)  
Davis, John: W. Va., 1924, D.  
Debs, Eugene: Ind., 1904-1920, S.  
Douglas, Stephen: Ill., 1860, D.  
Dow, Neal: Me., 1880, P.  
Ellsworth, Oliver: Conn., 1797, Ind.  
Faris, Herman: Mo., 1924, P.  
Fillmore, Millard: N. Y., 1856, A.  
Fisk, Clinton: N. J., 1888, P.  
Floyd, John: Va., 1832, I.  
Foster, Wm.: Ill., 1924, C. F. L., 1928, W., 1932, C.  
Fremont, John: Cal., 1856, R.  
Garfield, James: Ohio, 1880, R.  
Grant, Ulysses: Ill., 1868-1872, R.  
Greeley, Horace: N. Y., 1872, L. & D.  
Hale, John: N. H., 1852, F. S.  
Hancock, John: Mass., 1789, F.  
Hancock, W. S.: Pa., 1880, D.  
Hanly, J. F.: Ind., 1916, P.  
Harding, Warren: Ohio, 1920, R.  
Harrison, Benj.: Ind., 1888-1892, R.  
Harrison, Robt.: Md., 1789, F.  
Harrison, Wm. H.: Ohio, 1836-1840, W.  
Harvey, Wm.: Ark., 1932, L.  
Hayes, Rutherford: Ohio, 1876, R.  
Henry, John: Md., 1797, F.  
Hoover, Herbert: Cal., 1928-1932, R.  
Hughes, Chas.: N. Y., 1916, R.  
Huntington, Samuel: Conn., 1789, F.  
Iredell, James: N. C., 1797, F.  
Jackson, Andrew: Tenn., 1824, R., 1828-1832, D.  
Jay, John: N. Y., 1789, 1797-1800, F.  
Jefferson, Thos.: Va., 1793-1804, R. (J)  
Johns, Frank: Ore., 1924, S. L.  
Johnson, Samuel: N. C., 1797, F.  
King, Rufus: N. Y., 1816, F.  
LaFollette, Robt.: Wis., 1924, Pr.  
Landon, Alfred: Kan., 1936, R.  
Lemkey, Wm.: N. D., 1936, U.  
Levering Joshua: Md., 1896, P.  
Lincoln, Abraham: Ill., 1860-1864, R.  
Lincoln, Benj.: Mass., 1789, F.  
McClellan, George: N. J., 1864, D.  
McKinley, Wm.: Ohio, 1896-1900, R.  
Madison, James: Va., 1808-1812, R. (J)  
Mangum, W. P.: N. C., 1836, W.  
Milton, John: Ga., 1789, F.  
Monroe, James: Va., 1816-1820, R. (J)  
Nations, Gilbert: D. C., 1924, A.  
O'Connor, Chas.: N. Y., 1872, D.  
Palmer, John: Ill., 1896, N. D.  
Parker, Alton: N. Y., 1904, D.  
Phelps, John: Vt., 1880, A.  
Pierce, Franklin: N. H., 1852, D.  
Pinckney, Chas.: S. C., 1797-1808, F.

Pinckney, Thos.: S. C., 1797, F.  
Polk, James: Tenn., 1844, D.  
Reimer, Arthur: Mass., 1912-1916, S. L.  
Reynolds, Vern: N. Y., 1928-1932, S. L.  
Roosevelt, Franklin: N. Y., 1932-1936, D.  
Roosevelt, Theo.: N. Y., 1904, R., 1912, Pr.  
Rutledge, John: S. C., 1789, F.  
Seymour, Horatio: N. Y., 1868, R.  
Scott, Winfield: N. J., 1852, W.  
Smith, Alfred: N. Y., 1928, D.  
Smith, Green: Ky., 1876, P.  
St. John, John: Ky., 1884, P.  
Streeter, A. J.: Ill., 1888, N. L.  
Swallow, Silas: Pa., 1904, P.  
Taft, Wm.: Ohio, 1908-1912, R.  
Taylor, Zachary: La., 1848, W.  
Telfair, Edward: Ga., 1789, F.  
Tilden, Samuel: N. Y., 1876, D.  
Thomas, Norman: N. Y., 1928-1936, S.  
Upshaw, Wm. D.: Ga., 1932, P.  
VanBuren, Martin: N. Y., 1836-1840, D., 1848, F. S.  
Varney, Wm.: N. Y., 1928, P.  
Walker, James: Ill., 1876, A.  
Wallace, Wm.: N. J., 1924, C. L.  
Washington, George: Va., 1789-1797, F.  
Watkins, Aaron: Ohio, 1920, P.  
Watson, Thos.: Ga., 1904-1908, P.  
Weaver, James: Iowa, 1880, G., 1892, Po.  
Webb, Frank: Cal., 1928, F. L., 1932, L.  
Webster, Daniel: Mass., 1836, W.  
White, Hugh: Tenn., 1836, W.  
Wilson, Woodrow: N. J., 1912, 1916, D.  
Wirt, Wm.: Md., 1832, A. M.  
Wooley, John: Ill., 1900, P.

### Political Parties

A., American—1856, 1876, 1880, 1924; A. M., Anti Masonic, 1832; C., Communist, 1932-1936; C. F. L., Communist Farmer Labor, 1924; C. L., Commonwealth Land, 1924; D., Democrat, 1928-1936; D. & P., Democrat and Popularist, 1896; F. L., Farmer Labor, 1920, 1928-1932; F., Federal, 1789-1816; F. S., Free Soil, 1848-1852; G., Greenback, 1880-1884; I., Independent, 1797, 1832; L., Liberty, 1832, 1840-1844, 1932; L. & D., Liberty and Democrat, 1872; N. L., National Labor, 1888; N. D., National Democrat, 1896; N. R., National Republican, 1832; P., Prohibitionist, 1876-1936; Pr., Progressive, 1912, 1924; Po., Popularist, 1892; R., Republican, 1856-1936; R. (J.), (Jeffersonian) Republican, 1793-1832; S., Socialist, 1904-1920, 1928-1936; S. L., Socialist Labor, 1912-1916, 1924-1936; U., Union, 1860, 1936; W., Whig, 1836-1852; Wo., Workers, 1928.

# LINCOLN LORE

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## PROSPECTIVE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FOR 1860

The significance of the political conventions preceding the presidential campaign of 1860 were anticipated far in advance of the crucial election year. At least two full sized cloth bound books were published submitting the names of possible candidates, one of 360 pages by D. W. Bartlett published late in 1859, and the other of 503 pages by John Savage brought out early in 1860. Bartlett's book was entitled *Presidential Candidates* and described in the sub-title as "Containing sketches, biographical personal and political, of prominent candidates for the presidency in 1860." It contained the names of twenty-one prospective candidates. Savage called his book *Our Living Representative Men*. Thirty-four different names were compiled in Savage's list but inasmuch as he used all of Bartlett's selections except two, the combined total of names for the two works was thirty-six.

The most interesting observation to be made about this joint list of three dozen potential presidential candidates is the absence of the name of Abraham Lincoln. Surely he was the dark horse in the 1860 political races for the presidential nominations. There is some consolation in the fact that neither was Hannibal Hamlin, who received the Republican nomination for the Vice Presidency, brought forth by either author. Although Bartlett referred to "the terrible ordeal in Illinois" through which Douglas passed in 1858 the name of his opponent, Lincoln, is not mentioned. Savage, in his chapter on Douglas, does mention the name of Abraham Lincoln as the defeated candidate in the "58" campaign for the Senate, so the name of Lincoln is indirectly mentioned in the text.

David W. Bartlett, a New York author and newspaper man, sympathetic with reform movements in America, already had published earlier in the year 1859 a book entitled *Modern Agitators or Pen Portraits of Living American Reformers*. The introduction to the book is in the form of a letter written to Thomas Box of England which clearly sets forth Bartlett's anti-slavery philosophy. William H. Seward is the only one of the twenty reformers named who is included in the later volume submitting *Presidential Candidates*. Bartlett apparently arranged his list of presidential aspirants in the order of their popularity, as he viewed it, with Seward first, followed by Douglas, then Chase and Bates. The length of his biographical sketches also shows a preference arrangement as but seven characters are discussed in the

first one-half of the book while fourteen are mentioned in the latter half.

John Savage was a newspaper man in Ireland who was active with the reformers there and upon reaching this country became affiliated with New York, and later, Washington newspapers. Although Savage states in the preface to his book that he is about "to give a graphic and comprehensive record of the public acts

tenden of Kentucky, Cushing of Massachusetts, Dallas of Pennsylvania, Dayton of New Jersey, Everett of Massachusetts, Fillmore of New York, Guthrie of Kentucky, Houston of Texas, Johnson of Tennessee, Read of Pennsylvania, Seymour of New York, Slidell of Louisiana, and Wool of New York. Most of these men were Democrats, a few Constitutional Union men, and but two Republicans.

It is fortunate that Bartlett and Savage, the authors of the two important books were of different political opinions as we may feel sure that the field of prospective candidates for both parties was well covered. Savage followed the alphabetical order in presenting his list and inasmuch as it contained all but two of the names submitted by Bartlett, Henry Wilson and John P. Hale, both Republicans, we are using his order for display in the center column of the bulletin with the inclusion of the above two names. Although the political alliances of some of the men were in transition about the time the Bartlett and Savage books were published as far as can be ascertained the party allegiances at the beginning of the presidential campaigns of 1860 are designated.

A compilation of the entire list as with respect to their political affiliation indicates Democrats, 21; Republicans, 10; and various others such as Constitutional Union, etc., 5. A tabulation of their residences indicate that of the thirty-six candidates both the old North and the old South claim fifteen each, while the new West is credited with six.

While the success of Lincoln, the dark horse candidate, offered the surprise in the Republican convention ranks, it was the disintegration of the Democratic Party into three hostile camps which provided the most sensational results. All three of the successful candidates for the "Democratic," "National Democratic" and "Constitutional Union" parties, Stephen A. Douglas, John C. Breckenridge, and John Bell, respective, appeared in both the Bartlett and Savage lists. Bartlett names one of the Vice-Presidential nominees, Joseph Lane, the running mate of Breckenridge, while Savage mentions both Lane and Everett, the last named, the candidate with Bell.

Later on when the Federal Union was established at Montgomery, Alabama, the provincial President and Vice President, Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephenson, respectively, were chosen and their names had also appeared in the lists of both Bartlett and Savage.

### PROSPECTIVE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES — 1860

|                         |        |        |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|
| Banks, Nathaniel P.*    | Mass.  | Rep.   |
| Bates, Edward*          | Mo.    | Rep.   |
| Bell, John*             | Tenn.  | Union  |
| Botts, John Minor*      | Va.    | Dem.   |
| Breckenridge, John C.*  | Ky.    | Dem.   |
| Brown, Albert G.        | Miss.  | Dem.   |
| Cameron, Simon          | Penn.  | Rep.   |
| Chase, Salmon P.*       | Ohio   | Rep.   |
| Cobb, Howell*           | Ga.    | Dem.   |
| Crittenden, John J.     | Ky.    | Const. |
| Cushing, Caleb          | Mass.  | Union  |
| Dallas, Geo. M.         | Penn.  | Dem.   |
| Davis, Jefferson*       | Miss.  | Dem.   |
| Dayton, Wm. L.          | N. J.  | Rep.   |
| Dickinson, Daniel S.*   | N. Y.  | Dem.   |
| Douglas, Stephen A.*    | Ill.   | Dem.   |
| Everett, Edward         | Mass.  | Const. |
| Fillmore, Millard       | N. Y.  | Union  |
| Fremont, John C.*       | N. Y.  | Rep.   |
| Guthrie, James          | Ky.    | Dem.   |
| Hale, John P.*          | N. H.  | Rep.   |
| Hammond, James H.*      | S. C.  | Dem.   |
| Houston, Sam            | Texas  | Dem.   |
| Hunter, R. M. T.*       | Va.    | Dem.   |
| Johnson, Andrew         | Tenn.  | Dem.   |
| Lane, Joseph*           | Oregon | Dem.   |
| McLean, John*           | Ohio   | Rep.   |
| Orr, James L.*          | S. C.  | Dem.   |
| Read, John M.           | Penn.  | Dem.   |
| Seward, William H.*     | N. Y.  | Rep.   |
| Seymour, Horatio        | N. Y.  | Dem.   |
| Slidell, John           | La.    | Dem.   |
| Stephens, Alexander H.* | Ga.    | Dem.   |
| Wise, Henry A.*         | Va.    | Dem.   |
| Wool, John E.           | N. Y.  | ?      |
| Wilson, Henry*          | Mass.  | Rep.   |

\*Named by Bartlett

°Not named by Savage

of our public men free from any partisan influence" a reading of his chapter on Douglas, of whom he was an ardent supporter, indicates his Democratic viewpoint. In fact he was the proprietor of *The States*, the Douglas organ in Washington. The fifteen additional men Savage submitted, not used by Bartlett, were Brown of Mississippi, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Crit-

**POLITICAL.** The Republicans of Waterville completed the organization of a Lincoln and Hamlin Club, last evening, by the choice of the following officers:

President—Stephen N. Stockwell. Vice Presidents—Samuel Hall, Austin Gove, H. A. Stevens, Samuel T. Cobb, Ebenezer Atkins, P. M. Crane, Geo. W. Merritt, A. C. Ryder, Augustus Read. Corresponding Secretary—Edwin Wright. Recording Secretary—E. M. McPherson. Treasurer—A. A. Dunnels. Finance Committee—A. A. Dunnels, D. Y. Kendall, Richard Beeching. Executive Committee—Edward F. Porter, J. M. Read, S. H. Pingree, E. S. Bixby, Horace B. Butler.

The following named gentlemen were elected delegates to the State Convention—S. H. Pingree, E. F. Porter, Samuel Hall, Austin Gove, H. B. Butler, Paul Curtis, R. Beeching, D. S. Kendall, S. W. Merritt, Joseph Robbins.

An enthusiastic meeting of the Bell and Everett Club of Cambridgeport was held at their headquarters last evening, and speeches were made by C. G. Thomas, H. B. Munroe, C. B. Allen, S. S. Miles, and others.

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IMPORTANT POLITICAL INFORMATION—*Fusion in New York and Pennsylvania Rejected by the Douglas Party.* New York, 16th. The Douglas sub-committee have rejected the proposals of the Breckinridge Volunteer Association, and also declared that they would not, under any consideration, take any of the Electors now on the Breckinridge Electoral ticket.

The Breckinridge State Convention Committee will publish tomorrow an address, giving a statement of the recent negotiations with the Douglas Committee. They characterize squatter sovereignty as a phase of free soilism, and say that their candidates will be supported with all the energy and means at their command. They charge the Douglasites with bringing about the present distracted state of the party, and, in rejecting the only means by which Lincoln could be defeated, they have reduced the question to one of future political organization only.

*Philadelphia, 16th.* At the Douglas meeting last night a resolution against fusion was unanimously adopted.

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—That the voters of the South may understand fully the differences of opinion between Bell and Breckinridge, on two great questions that intimately concern their rights—the *protection* and *extension* of Slavery—some of the Bell journals of the South are publishing in parallel columns, the declarations of both in reference thereto. Let the reader compare and then determine which of the two is the man for the South, say these journals:

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.  
“I happened to be in Congress when the Nebraska bill passed and gave it my voice and vote, and because it did what it did, viz.: It acknowledged the right of the people of the Territory to settle the question for themselves and not because I supposed—that I do not now believe—that it legislates Slavery into the Territory. *The Democratic party is not a Pro-Slavery party.*”

“Sir, I care nothing about refined distinctions, or subtleties, or verbal criticism. I repeat the broad and plain proposition that if Congress may *intervene* on this subject it may *intervene* on any other, and having thus surrendered the principle and broken away from the constitutional limitations, you are driven into the very lap of arbitrary power. By this doctrine you may erect a despotism under the American system. *The whole theory is a libel on our institutions.* It carried us back to the abhorrent principles of British colonial authority against which we made the issue of independence. *I hate never acquired in this odious claim, and will not believe that it can abide the test of public scrutiny.*”—*Speech of Mr. Breckinridge, see Con. Globe, March 23, 1854.*

“I am connected with no party that has for its object the *extension of Slavery*; nor with any to **PREVENT THE PEOPLE** OF A TERRITORY FROM DECIDING the question of its existence or non-existence with them for themselves.”

JOHN BELL.  
“The Constitution, *proprio vigore*, the flag of the Union, *protects* the citizen in the enjoyment of his right of property, of every description, recognized as such in any of the States, on every sea and in every Territory in the Union. The soundness of the general doctrine held on this point, I think, cannot well be questioned or disproved; and if the question related to Territory situated as Oregon was when the United States came into possession of it, *property in slaves would be entitled to the protection of the laws and Constitution of the United States.*”

“As to the principle of ‘Squatter Sovereignty,’ I wish further to say, that in the late contest between General Taylor and the Michigan (Gen. Cass,) it was distinctly brought forward as an issue before the people of Tennessee. \* \* \* In that contest, in common with the South generally, they the people of Tennessee repudiated the idea, that a handful, or any number of inhabitants, in a Territory of the United States, should have the power granted to them by Congress of regulating their domestic institutions and at their discretion to deny to the citizen of one section of the Union the power to enjoy his right of property in slaves. We were not prepared to reverse and set aside the previously established practice and doctrine of the Government, from 1789 to that time. \* \* \*

We, in Tennessee at that time believed we were advocating principles and doctrines on this subject approved in all the Southern States. The principle then contended for was that the people of a Territory, *when they came to form their State Constitution, AND THEN ONLY,* were qualified to establish their domestic institutions.”

“But humanity to the slave as well, not less than justice to the master, recommends the policy of *diffusion and extension into any new Territory adapted to its condition*, and the reasons are too obvious to be misunderstood by the dullest intellects.”





